1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

things according to the detailed specifications of adults; rather the child is given an opportunity to work out for himself the details of many cultural tasks. The responsibility accorded to a twelve year old was vividly demonstrated in Lower Post when five children, ranging from seven to twelve, climbed into a boat to cross the Liard River. The oldest boy could not start the outboard motor and the vessel began to drift down the swift current. He gave orders to his compaions, and four children seized the oars, two on each side, and in that way they crossed.

Correlated with the child's early development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility is the fact that children, especially girls, are not long exempt from making economic contributions to the family. It must be realized, however, that in a society where only relatively brief periods of intense labor are regarded as necessary and in which duties are undertaken leisurely, without compulsion, there remains abundant free time which children may claim for themselves. The Kaska girl, like her mother, is not a household drudge and the economic obligations of children do not restrain either sex from play or from social interaction with agemates.

Adolescence

The period from puberty to marriage is a relatively short one for the Kaska girl and only slightly longer for the boy. It is a time which marks the full growth of the independence for which young people have been prepared since early childhood. No social recognition marks the transition to puberty in the boy or girl.

Menarche is handled so privately by a girl's mother that sometimes not even the father is aware that his daughter has reached physical maturity. Sequestration of menstruants has only recently disappeared.[19] Apart from the fact that some men refrain from sexual intercourse during catamenia, there are practically no disabilities restricting girls' behavior at this time. Since women are reluctant to speak of menstruation, even to other women, the subject was not a suitable one for obtaining detailed information. According to Paulette Donnelly, no absorbent is worn to catch the menstrual flow. Observation suggests that younger women often change from slacks to dresses when the flow is in progress.

For the girl puberty is accompanied by few major changes in her economic role. She has been using a small rifle for a year or two and has already been given the task of running her mother's rabbit lines. With her mother or sister she has started trapping and earning money from fur that came into her traps. The pubescent girl is generally an accomplished sewer, able to make dresses or moccasins, and has sufficiently observed the processing of moose-hide to be able to carry out the task herself. In a word, she is as adult in her experience as her physiological capacities permit. Beginning with puberty a mild avoidance relationship, phrased as shyness, begins to develop between many girls and their fathers. This persists even after the girl is married. "Used to be Anna like my heart," Old Man said. "Now she grow up I wouldn't talk to her. Injun like that."

The economic role of the boy has not been as fully developed as the girl's; that is, unlike his sister, he has not been given as many opportunities to learn his socially expected roles

[19] For information regarding what must have been one of the last cases of puberty sequestration see Dorothy Pierce's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 343–345.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

freedom of movement than girls, have a wider range of friendships. Girls, particularly around the time of puberty, have their friendships restricted to female siblings and girls living in an immediately adjacent camp. 883 572

Fluidity tends to be a feature of such friendships, but during the period when a particular relationship exists it is often marked by close affection and exchange of confidence. The emotions of friendship are rarely expressed verbally, but are abundantly demonstrated tactually. Such expression is most strongly developed in girls, who are often seen holding hands, sitting close together, hugging, and wrestling. Boys, too, often sit resting against each others' bodies. Sometimes a boy creeps up behind a friend and embraces him tightly from behind, whereupon the other tries to lift him up or shake him loose. Such horsing around often leads to wrestling for sport.

Although adolescence may be thought to offer advantages in the way of less direct supervision, greater independence, and more opportunities for achieving prestige, there seems to be no haste in either boys or girls to grow up. Although two sisters may be only two years apart, and one may use lipstick or begin to tease and be teased by boys, the other does not presume above her age, and shows no haste to emulate her sister. She seems content to wait for the physiological signal that will denote her maturity. Meanwhile boys do not bother her. Such younger girls often act as companions to older friends, when the latter attend dances or walk around in the summer night. In this role they are often able to increase their sexual knowledge. 883 582

The boy's freedom during adolescence is greater than the girl's, just as his whole childhood has been marked by fewer obligations and duties. Girls of fourteen and fifteen continue to be scolded and forced to assist in household tasks, but there is evidence for believing that now this direction begins to be resented, leading to negativistic behavior. At this age girls, following a family quarrel, often leave their families to live with married sisters or maternal aunts. In late adolescence boys may also leave home and live in another settlement, but this step is generally a preparation for marriage.

What is the adolescent's orientation in life? What are his ambitions and aspirations? We sought to ask such questions but rarely received clear or decisive answers. Irene Wiley refused to try to think of her future and shook off all such inquiries. A typical expression of personal orientation comes from Carl Leonard, a literate fourteen year old boy of mixed Tahltan and Kaska parentage. Asked what he wanted to do when he grew up, Carl replied: "Work at something; little work. Build house. I want to trap most." Did he want to go outside of the Kaska area? "Sometimes I go out, just for trip." Why did he want to build a house? "Live inside." What was the goal in trapping? "Catch something on trap." What about money? "Yeah, make a little money." What is money good for? "Buy some things." If he had a great deal of money what would he buy? "Buy some grub, clothes for myself, buy good blankets. That's all." 883 185

From this not unrepresentative instance we may conclude that the Kaska adolescent's aspirations do not significantly outrank the generally low level of aspiration patterned by the society. The adolescent's goals are formulated within the conventional realm of experience; his personal ambition is limited. In later life the adult will retain these qualities as distinctive features of his personality.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

553 the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[1]

854 For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In
855 this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked.
[863] Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong
857 places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

861 Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take
863 over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant
867 interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided
865 babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become
864 cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

868 Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to ac-
882 company his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[1] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 37.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's heart. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or perhaps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the brother-sister avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a surprise enemy raid.

Dease River Kaska. To eat fowl, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in pregnancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became lost. Eventually the cord would be cached in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex relations for about three months.

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[4]

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of naming were specified and teknonymy was denied.

Either parent exercised discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a young child met no discouragement. Toys included the buzz toy, bull-roarer, rawhide rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime said to have been derived from the Taku Indians, furnished children with a pleasant occupation.

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[5] In autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows. A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com-

[4] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[5] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 36-37.